The Yankee and Cowboy War: Conspiracies from Dallas to Watergate
By Carl Oglesby
Power Shift: The Rise of the Southern Rim and Its Challenge to the Eastern Establishment
By Kirkpatrick Sale

For many years now, the "Yankee-Cowboy" model of conflict within the national political-economic elite has been widely discussed within American radical circles. Originally developed in the late 1960s by Carl Oglesby, a former president of Students for a Democratic Society, the model provided an extremely useful theoretical framework for analyzing the broader meaning of such prominent and traumatic political events as the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion, the John F. Kennedy assassination, Lyndon Johnson's sudden and unexpected resignation and the Watergate crisis that precipitated the downfall of Richard Nixon. Oglesby argued forcefully that the significance of these events could not be grasped by considering them in isolation. Instead, he contended that they were manifestations of a far more fundamental tension that, in one form or another, has divided the political-economic elite governing America since the earliest days of our Republic; a tension that, in recent years, has contributed to growing political instability at the national level.

Oglesby's early, fragmentary formulations of the Yankee-Cowboy model were presented in a series of articles appearing in such periodicals as the Guardian, Ramparts, and the Boston Phoenix. As a result, they did not receive wide attention among the general public, but they did capture the imagination of many radicals and libertarians who perceived the analytical insights of the model. Murray Rothbard was one of the first libertarians to recognize the importance of Oglesby's model in his "Only One Heartbeat Away," which appeared in the September 1974 Libertarian Forum.

The Yankee-Cowboy model identifies within the national political-economic elite two groups, or "poles," whose members hold fundamentally different worldviews. The Yankee pole is concentrated in the old, established families of the Northeast whose power is derived from their control of Wall Street financial firms and vast, multinational corporations. These are the people who direct the affairs of the network of interlocking institutions that comprise the "Eastern Establishment." Strongly Anglophile, the Yankees perceive the North Atlantic industrial community as the focus of their economic, political, and cultural interests. The Rockefeller, Morgans, Harrimans, and Dillons are some examples of Yankee families.

The Cowboys represent a second group within the national political-economic elite, and this group has its geographical foundations in the "Southern Rim" extending from Miami through New Orleans, Dallas, Houston, Phoenix, and Las Vegas to Los Angeles. Deriving their economic strength from such diverse "growth" sectors as petroleum, agriculture, high-technology research and development, and defense contracting, the Cowboys have emerged as a major new power center contending for control of the national apparatus. The Cowboy members of the political-economic elite share a common cultural heritage that is largely derived from the frontier heritage of the West and that sharply distinguishes them from their Yankee associates. Unlike the Yankees, the Cowboys perceive the Pacific Basin as the focus for their essential interests and tend to be far more doctrinally anti-Communist.

To drastically simplify a highly detailed analysis, Oglesby argues that the Kennedy assassination in 1963 represented a virtual coup d'etat within the political-economic elite, transferring leadership from the Yankee elements to the Cowboy elements represented by Johnson and Nixon. However, following growing disillusionment within the Yankee camp over the direction of the Vietnam War, the Yankee elements attempted to reassert their control within the national political-economic elite through a carefully orchestrated campaign to remove Nixon without revealing the full extent of covert activities by government agencies--in effect, a second coup d'etat.

In the past year, two books have been published that explore various aspects of the Yankee-Cowboy model in considerably greater detail than is possible here: Carl Oglesby's The Yankee and Cowboy War and Kirkpatrick Sale's Power Shift. The publication of these two books in such close succession enables us to reexamine many of the most prominent events of the past 15 years from this new perspective. For example, while Woodward and Bernstein provided us with extensive coverage of the events surrounding the Watergate crisis, in a very real sense they merely told us what happened; Oglesby has gone beyond this and very persuasively argued why it happened. Similarly, many authors have compiled evidence challenging the assumption that Lee Harvey Oswald was the...
A Word to Our Readers

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William Manna, A Libertarian Perspective on the American Revolution, Tape 748 (45 min), $9.95.

Murray Rothbard, Benediction to the Libertarian Party Convention, Tape 749 (33 min), $9.95.

- Ralph Myles Publisher, Inc. (PO Box 1533, Colorado Springs, CO 80901), specializing in keeping available classic works of revisionist history, anarcho-libertarian political philosophy, and ego-philosophy. The Ralph Myles list includes such titles as The Will to bondage: The Literature of Isolationism: Non-Interventionist Scholarship, 1930-1972; Men Against the State: The Exposures of Individualist Anarchism in America, 1827-1908; The Philosophy of Egoism; and Revisionist Viewpoints: Essays in a Dissident Traditionalist Perspective. Write for a catalog.

- George H. Smith, director of the Forum for Philosophical Studies (6725 Sunset Blvd., Suite 500, Los Angeles, CA 90028), is presenting "A History of Atheism and Religious Dissent," a ten-lecture series on theories and proponents of atheism, agnosticism, deism, and freethought from the seventeenth century to the present. The series begins on Tuesday, 11 January, 7-9 P.M. It will continue at the same time each Tuesday for ten consecutive weeks at the Forum's Sunset Blvd. office. Tuition for the course is $60, payable in three installments. For more information, call George Smith or Wendy Grosscup at 213-467-1051.

- James Dale Davidson, executive director of the National Taxpayers Union and an LR contributor, has been voted Playboy's Annual Writing Award for the best new nonfiction contribution of 1976. The award was made for his "Punch Out the IRS" which appeared in the April Playboy. Congratulations, Jim!

- Liberty Bookstore (811 Castro St., Mountain View, CA 94041; phone: 415-965-1776) has an interesting catalog available in return for your address and a $1.35 stamp ($2.40 for first class). To quote from the front cover of the catalog, "You will probably never see another catalog like this one. In it, you can learn how to protect yourself from inflation, economic collapse, food shortages, famine, gas shortages, taxes & the IRS, government controls, contaminated water, contaminated food, heart disease, and atheism, agnosticism, deism, and religion." A Libertarian, a Philosophy, and an associate editor of this quarterly, is presenting "A History of Atheism and Religious Dissent," a ten-lecture series on theories and proponents of atheism, agnosticism, deism, and freethought from the seventeenth century to the present. The series begins on Tuesday, 11 January, 7-9 P.M. It will continue at the same time each Tuesday for ten consecutive weeks at the Forum's Sunset Blvd. office. Tuition for the course is $60, payable in three installments. For more information, call George Smith or Wendy Grosscup at 213-467-1051.

Contributors IN THIS ISSUE

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The Power of Congress
(As Congress Sees It)

By Robert LeFevre (edited by R. S. Radford)

The belief that Congressional representatives don’t know what they’re doing is probably held by most American taxpayers. But Robert LeFevre, author of several major works on the philosophy of libertarianism, has set out in a newly published work to prove the notion to be literally true: that they really don’t know what they’re doing. Or what they should be doing. Or what gives them the legal or moral right to do anything in the first place.

LeFevre’s 1972 correspondence with 46 members of the Senate and House has become The Power of Congress (as Congress Sees It), edited by R. S. Radford.

His premise is this:

A man holding public office can only be considered an agent of others. But the generally recognized concept of agency is a responsible one, requiring that the agent know and be able to identify his principals, and then act in their best interests. But a congressman can show neither legal proof nor moral evidence that any one either appointed him as his agent or sought to get him to act in his best interests.

This is because these people are elected to Congress by a secret ballot and are thus unable to point to their principals and act “for” them in any honest way.

How, LeFevre asks, can a man claim to be honest while supposedly being able to represent both those who voted for him, as well as those who would do anything in their power to prevent him from being an agent for them?

Therefore, someone who claims to be an agent and acting for others, but who can show no legal or moral proof as to who those persons are for whom he acts, can only act on his own behalf.

In the letters to congressmen, LeFevre details this untenable moral position and asks them to resign and be content with the rights and privileges “enjoyed by everybody else.”

The readers, if not particularly interested in libertarianism (yet), will enjoy the book on the level of curiosity. They will find the “deep” philosophical and critical rationalism of some of the legislators fascinating and occasionally hilarious, if not downright stupid.

In his lectures, LeFevre advocates no government whatsoever, but rather the bringing about of a system of responsible individualism based on property rights and the nature of human beings to seek profit. He has repeatedly pointed out that the nation’s lawmakers, and others in various strata of government, are not all “bad guys.” Many of them, he declares, are bright people who could most likely perform honestly, provided they are in a free market.

Some, by the same token, would obviously have to become pickpockets or die of hunger within a few days.

Those of both characteristics corresponded with LeFevre. The words of some of the big names are here: Edmund Muskie, Gerald Ford, Hubert Humphrey (whom, we are told, represents all of the people of Minnesota) Mike Gavel, and Edward Brooke.

Bill the lesser-known provide the real meat of the book, and the best of its subtle humor.

Richard Hanna, then a representative from California’s Orange County (where LeFevre lives), responded to LeFevre’s lengthy, scholarly, logical and impassioned treatise by saying he had referred it to another congressman “who represents the district in which you reside,” adding, “A long-standing tradition in Congress requires that each member have the privilege of representing his own constituents.”
My Years with Ludwig von Mises
By Margit von Mises

Reviewed by Murray N. Rothbard / Arlington House, 1976 / $9.95 (Illustrated)

For those who are passionately concerned with ideas, and especially those engaged in a lifelong struggle for freedom, the opportunity is all too rare to sit and hear recollections from one who are our mentors and guides. This is particularly true of Ludwig von Mises, one of the great minds of this century and the outstanding champion of human freedom of our age.

In this charming and poignant memoir of their life together, his devoted widow, Margit, points out that when Mises died in October 1973, none of the articles and memoirs about him dealt with Mises the person.

In her preface, she explains why, and why she wrote this book:

My husband was a very reserved person. While he was kind and friendly to all, he was extremely self-contained and communicative about his own life and affairs. He never talked about himself or his family. His work, his writings belonged to the world. His feelings belonged to life, for he had reason to believe that I am the only person who really knew him.

That is why I have written this book. The desire to bring him closer to his admirers and to the many students who loved him and stood in awe of any of his genius eventually grew so strong within me that it became almost an obsession. By telling the story of our life together, I shall try to reveal the benevolence, the great scholar, a great teacher—but still a lonely man with a great need for love and affection.

The awe and the love I can testify to. For of those of us who were honored and privileged to be students and friends of Ludwig von Mises, the idea of a public display of his nature is an embarrassment. For this was not a disappointment to us; quite the contrary. In our bumptious world of Instant Intimacy it was an honor to know a man for whom privacy and emotional restraint were an essential part of his being.

In this enthralling and moving memoir, Margit von Mises has succeeded in the delicate art of revealing to us Mises the man without presuming to strip away his cherished sense of privacy. (Would that other memoirs did the same!)

As the details of their life together accumulate, the reader becomes gripped, and moved, by the book.

And yet, Margit has accomplished this feat.

Above all, this book is a lovely valentine, a love story of Ludwig and Margit's life together. It is a touching and tender love story, a romance in the best sense of the term. No longer need we think sadly of Ludwig von Mises' life as merely a lonely and sundered conflict on the part of a great man whose ideas and contributions were neglected and demeaned by a hostile and incomprehending world. The book is the high honor of the high honor of academia and the world of scholarship have heaped upon him.

For now we know that Mises' life was enriched and made happy by his great and lifelong love. All of us who love and admire Ludwig von Mises are in Margit's debt—both for her existence and for this book which tells us the Mises story. It is a book for all of us to read and cherish.

And yet . . . I am reluctant to bring up any unpleasant considerations in a discussion of a book of such grace and tenderness. It would be even more than before the shabbiness, the malice, with which Mises was treated by an intellectual world which should have given him all the honor and pride of which it is capable.

In what I found a particularly moving passage of the book, Margit writes with the deep feeling early in his life in America, when Mises visited a friend of his (Winfield W. Riefel), who had a position with the prestigious Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, where scholars can devote themselves to full-time scholarship and high intellectual companionship.

She writes:

I remember Lu [Mises] once told me that Riefel's job was the only position that really would have made him happy. . . . It was unusual for Lu to express a longing for something out of his reach. It was more revealing to me than any other remark he might have made. . . . When I told Fritz Machlup (two Mises students in Vienna)—much, much later—about Lu's wish, he replied, "And he would have been the right man at the right place! Why didn't he ever one think of it? Why, indeed? In her sweet way, Margit expresses gratitude to New York University for giving Mises the opportunity to teach. But I must confess that even when I consider that NYU paid Mises the munificent sum of $2000 a year as a part-time instructor, that only allowed Mises to teach full-time as a visiting professor for many years because his entire salary was paid by the William Volker Fund and other business admirers, that the administration of NYU tried to discourage students from attending Mises' classes, many emotions fill my heart, but gratitude is not one of them.

To think that at a time when every fifth-rate socialist refugee received well-paying and prestigious posts in academia that a man like Mises could only spend his years at a third-rate business school in a subsidized post! This is a blot on American academia that can never be forgiven or forgotten.

I am grateful and happy that Ludwig and Margit were able to live their lives in America without bitterness, that Mises could spend his most productive and fruitful years happily even under such contemptible treatment. But I cannot succeed in looking at that treatment with the same grace and equanimity. It is sad that Ludwig von Mises could not have lived to see the present resurgence of his "Austrian economic" teachings, to see a world where a glittering array of younger economists have become "Misesian" where scholarly institutes, foundations, conferences and seminars are expounding his teachings, where Misesian books are beginning to pour forth from the presses.

But we can console ourselves a little at the thought that the immortal Ludwig von Mises lives on, in the hearts of those who loved him, and in his teachings that are finding an ever-expanding influence. And now Margit von Mises' memoir will play a vital part in the immortalizing of her noble husband.
A Civil Tongue

By Edwin Newman


Edwin Newman is a highly serious man when he is on television as a reporter—he has one of the deadliest pens in the business—but in print he usually funs. There are several passages in A Civil Tongue that will provoke most readers to laugh out loud, something rare in contemporary American writing, particularly journalism. Newman has a whimsical, original wit and an almost piercing eye for the absurd, especially in language. A Civil Tongue should be a very entertaining book. It isn't.

It is nonetheless an excellent book, aimed at exposing the bad state of the English language, principally as spoken by Americans. To those who care, it is clear that English suffers from writing and speaking that are stilted, wordy, pompous, vague, and filled with jargon, but Newman shows that the abuse is much worse than anyone suspected. The book is essentially a collection of atrocities strung together by Newman's wisecracks.

Orwell wrote thirty years ago, in his "Politics and English Language," that as a rule, "political writing is bad writing." That remains true, but political speaking is even worse. One hopes it was momentary confusion or nervousness or fatigue that caused Nelson Rockefeller to say, when asked if he might be nominated for vice president at the 1976 Republican convention, "I cannot conceive of any scenario in which that might eventuate." Likewise for Jerry Brown, who explained his celebrated "acutesticism" by saying, "I cannot relate to that material postwar consciousness." Surely they never would have sat down and written that kind of pretentious nonsense. There is no such excuse for the people who wrote a Winston-Salem, North Carolina, budget proposal, requesting money for "effective confinement and extinguishment of unwanted and destructive fires." Newman's book contains a typical comment: "Firemen unable to achieve distinction between unwanted and destructive fires and the wanted and constructive fires." Newman is funny in short sittings but tedious and repetitive in long ones.

Newman's book is valuable, if only for steering one clear of countless common errors. But he leaves the reader longing for Orwell's lucid insights, such as his observation that "one ought to recognize that the present political chaos is connected with the decay of language, and that one can probably bring about some improvement by starting at the verbal end. If you simplify your English, you are freed from the worst follies of orthodoxy. You cannot speak any of the necessary dialects, and when you make a stupid remark, its stupidity will be obvious, even to yourself." Language is too important for one to be content with simply making fun of those who use it badly. And no one should know that better than Edwin Newman.

"... bad language, like polluted air, is everywhere and is quickly becoming inescapable . . ."

stand them"). Once in a while, sanity intrudes: when the Associated Press began a story, "A Senate Appropriations Committee has acted to ensure that former President Richard Nixon is not provided household servants at government expense," UPI covered the same incident with the lead sentence, "The chairman of a Senate subcommittee says the government shouldn't pay for shining Richard Nixon's shoes." Such examples are rare.

Newman's point is that bad language, like polluted air, is everywhere and is quickly becoming inescapable. Even why it is bad that people speak and write so

A Civil Tongue ends up as little more than a handbook of ways to misuse the English language, with no logical organization or clear purpose. One could read the book's chapters in reverse order and hardly know the difference; in fact one can get nearly as much out of any one chapter as out of the entire book. Newman is funny in short sitting but tedious and repetitive in long ones.

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THE ART OF BEING

An Invitation to attend a workshop conducted by Dr. Nathaniel Branden—author of "The Psychology of Self Esteem, "The Disowned Self" and "Breaking Free," and "The Art of Being".

There is no judgment a person can pass more significant than the one he passes on himself. No single factor more responsible for the shape his life takes. For over 20 years the central theme of my work has been the importance of self-esteem and the process of its attainment. Now I invite you to share with me the distillation of that work, in a 45-hour high intensity workshop, whose purpose is to enhance the level of the participant's self-esteem, and assist the individual to a wider vision of life's possibilities, through a new awareness of his own positive personal potential. Not a lecture series, nor psychotherapy, the workshop is an interactive learning experience designed to facilitate self-awareness, self-acceptance, self-responsibility, and self-assertiveness. I regard this workshop as a self-help enhancement of the most exciting and valuable program I have ever offered. I hope you will wish to join me.

For Washington, D.C. Workshop—February 3-6 Contact: Ms. Kayneth Dox Kepner Communications, Inc. 901 N. Washington Street, #220 Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703) 836-3133

For Los Angeles, California Workshop—March 17-20 Contact: The Biocentric Institute 2555 Sutter Boulevard Los Angeles, California 90009 (213) 274-1134

For Detroit, Michigan Workshop—April 14-17 Contact: Lee or Joyce Shulman c/o Lee M. Shulman & Associates 751 Hendrie Boulevard Royal Oak, Michigan 48067 (313) 541-2660

January/February 1977
The courts, when dealing with cases involving religious freedom issues, almost always cite approvingly the adage that the First Amendment erects a wall of separation between church and state. This is legal shorthand for saying the state has no domain, religion another, and never the twain shall meet. But this wall has not proven to be one of solid stone; from time to time breaches have appeared. One such can be called the "restriction-on-action" breach. This found expression in the opinion of the United States Supreme Court in Reynolds v. Oregon. Mr. Justice Harlan wrote of a Mormon who was being prosecuted for violation of the federal law proscribing bigamy. His defense was the First Amendment's guarantee of religious freedom; it was, he claimed, a dictate of his religion to take more than one wife whenever possible. As the opinion noted, the Mormon church taught its male members "that the failure to reform or to practice polygamy, in the male members of the Church, when circumstances would do, would be punished, and that the penalty for such failure and for refusal to reform was damnation in the life to come." But much to Reynolds's surprise, the wall was found not to be as incombustible as he imagined. The Court decided that while the First Amendment guarantees one an absolute right to believe, it allows the state to restrict translation of those beliefs into prac­ tices. Actions which offend against soci­ etal welfare, safety, or morals cannot be protected, in a word, if they spring from valid religious belief. In this case, polygamy not only offended against societal morals, it was criminally proscribed. Thus, the wall is solid when mere belief is involved, but when action is at issue, the wall is much like Swiss cheese, torn with occasional holes, which allow the state to intervene in some in­ stances.

One would assume that if any aspect of religion is protected from state in­ ferrence it is the sanctuary of a religious sect's tenets; a finding that the state possesses the power to in­ terfere in this area would pose a grave threat to religious freedom. In a recent case, the Supreme Court had just made such a finding: invoking the Reynolds restriction-on-action doctrine, the court allowed the state of Tennessee to prohibit a sect from using certain uncon­ ventional practices in its worship service. The case, State ex rel Swann v. Pack, concerns two practices of the Holiness Church of God in Jesus' Name—the handling of live rattlesnakes by some members and the drinking of strychnine by others during the worship service. Both practi­ ces were engaged in, according to one of the defendant members of the sect, to "complement the spiritual act of mind and body of the limited member of the faith. The snakes were

handed only by those who believed the Spirit was with them at the time, and, as stipulated at the trial level, in such a way that no nonconsecrated person was ever brought into contact with any of the snakes. The local district attorney discovered these practices and brought suit to have the state interfere and abate them. The trial court shared somewhat the district attorney's concern, granting an injunction against further snake-handling within the county. However, the court allowed "any person who wishes to swallow strychnine or other poisons only do so if he has the poison available to any other persons." On ap­ peal, the Tennessee Court of Appeals manifested less sympathy for the district attorney's position. The judges there found the lower court's injunction to be overbroad and modified it to forbid only if certain narrow parameters were met as well life the health or life of persons who do not consent to ex­ position to such danger." The lower court's allowance of strychnine drinking was continued.

In the Tennessee Supreme Court, the decision was upheld and the case found its way to the Court of Appeals. Following Reynolds, the court allowed the state of Tennessee to intervene in cases in­ volving religious freedom. A constitutional correctness decision would have been for the court to say: This is an area in which the state has no power to intervene. Everyone at­ test to the societal nature of organized religion. The state interposes itself only if it is necessary to protect the life or health of persons who do not consent to exposure to such danger. The lower court's allowance of strychnine drinking was concluded.

The state here is found to have the power to intervene in cases involving religious freedom of the sect, to may be in the individual. is finished. As the Reynolds doctrine applied, the court allowed the state to intervene in cases involving religious freedom of the sect, to "complement the spiritual act of mind and body of the sect's tenets; a finding that the state possesses the power to interfere in this area would pose a grave threat to religious freedom. In a recent case, the Supreme Court had just made such a finding: invoking the Reynolds restriction-on-action doctrine, the court allowed the state of Tennessee to prohibit a sect from using certain unconventional practices in its worship service. The case, State ex rel Swann v. Pack, concerns two practices of the Holiness Church of God in Jesus' Name—the handling of live rattlesnakes by some members and the drinking of strychnine by others during the worship service. Both practices were engaged in, according to one of the defendant members of the sect, to "complement the spiritual act of mind and body of the limited member of the faith. The snakes were

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Identity and Intimacy

By William Kilpatrick

Reviewed by Harries-Chlicy Peterson, Jr. / Dell, 1975 / 53.25 pb

"The present era has been variously described as the age of liberation, the age of transformation, even the age of a new consciousness. At some future date, however, we may look back and discover that even in reality, the age during which we lost our identity, and with it our ability to love."

So begins William Kilpatrick, professor of psychology at Boston College, in what will not doubt be regarded as a throwback, Victorian plea for values currently considered obsolete and primordial: love, fidelity, commitment. Kilpatrick, in his Identity and Intimacy, writes about the psychology of love as involvement and commitment, and holds this up as a positive value, distinct and more productive to the self than the glorified fluidity of Alvin Toffler, the meaningless antiphilosophical waverings of the human potential movement and the rampant anti-individualism of McLuhan and Norman O. Brown.

Kilpatrick's book is a careful and penetrating study of what love is, and what it is not. His analysis is reminiscent of the insight found in Ortega y Gasset's On Love (without the dry pedantry) and in C.S. Lewis's Four Loves (without the Christian perspective). But offering us more than a compassionate analysis of what love is, Kilpatrick goes on to point out that love is of crucial importance in the development of our identity.

For the rational man or woman who believes that identity (our very depth of being, our total self) is built on choices and commitments, and that the self develops through dedication to causes, to passions, to others, this book is a very warm experience. Murray Rothbard wrote that a lifelong dedication to liberty can only be grounded on a passion for justice and the passionate embrace of ethical principles of what justice and injustice are; as William Lloyd Garrison wrote: "I have need to be on fire, for I have mountains of ice about me to melt." And so Kilpatrick states his case for embracing love and commitment.

His case is profound but uncomplicated. He writes, as did Ortega, that love is essentially a matter of choice. This is enriched and broadened by adding, from Kierkegaard, that love is not a feeling but an act of will, a chosen duty to which we freely commit ourselves.

This idea of love as a chosen duty (even if freely chosen) is incompatible with the fluid self that makes no rational decisions but slides through life, uncontrolled, guided by emotions grounded in nothing but whim. One reason this view of love as choice and duty is rejected is that in being choice, love not only requires some actions, but proscribes other actions, and thus limits our range of involvement—and this is not desired by the Easy Riders of our age. Kilpatrick notes, however, that a full development of identity can only come through the intensity of involvement. We must make choices to define our self, to create identity. Yet choice is worthwhile only if we are willing to involve ourselves intimately in that choice; intimacy involves, paradoxically, a relaxation of identity to assert itself. The proposition, strength through relaxation, is a risky one, for there is a potential for loss. Yet, as in economics, this must hold true in our psychology of self-esteem; it is only by taking risks that profits are made.

Kilpatrick has given us a powerful statement that should motivate us, through his persuasions, to attempt to define ourselves through a concurrent strengthening of identity through intimacy in its most grand form: accepting love as a serious, freely willed dedication to commitment. His statement is extremely well written, even graceful. His rich insight, all of it free of any jargon, is purposefully and well illustrated with myriad examples from psychology, from popular culture, from literature. His book's result: the strong motivation to commit oneself to something.

What Kilpatrick does not do is give us any understanding of why we chose any given cause, passion, or person over any other. It is here that Nathaniel Branden's chapters on romantic love from his Psychology of Self-Esteem come to mind. Branden's criteria for choice and Kilpatrick's rationale for making choice more permanent than temporary. In that marriage we have a very powerful, cohesive, and inspiring foundation for building a rational and sound psychology of love. The foundation is a coherent statement that liberates the self from the delusions of uncommitted fluidity in a translucent age of future shock and group grope. And even more rewarding, it is an insight that helps us discover the power and intense reward (happiness) found in a freely willed, rationally chosen, committed true love.

The value of the two books is not just intellectual, if the writings are taken to heart as well as mind, the resulting value is one of intense personal gratification.

And considering that love has been a source of just as much pain as pleasure in the world, anything that opens our eyes to understand, perceive, and capture love as a healthy and wonderful aspect of life is certainly more than worthwhile.
Cut Local Taxes—Without Reducing Essential Services
By Robert Poole, Jr.

Probably one of the worst sets of ideas to emanate from a libertarian movement spokesperson in recent years is Robert Poole’s Cut Local Taxes. I am sorry to report that I found not a single redeeming point in all 46 pages. What I had hoped to find was a manual on how to organize in opposition to local taxes: supporting bona fide antitax candidates, running campaigns to defeat bond issues and tax increases, and the like, utilizing the libertarian argument that services that have been usurped by government could best be provided on the free market. Instead, what I found was a handbook for bureaucrats detailing how state functions can be run more efficiently by utilizing “businesslike” methods. Rather than call for privatization of municipal services, Poole simply offers ways to cut the fat of bloated government gimmicks to aid politicians in running state enterprises. All of this is advocated, of course, in the mistaken belief that if one can convince a bureaucrat or politician to cut costs, government will automatically cut taxes proportionally. This claim is simply not borne out by the facts. Government expenditure rises to meet tax revenues.

And the level of taxation is determined by how much the government can get away with. As an example, I take up the case of Orange County, California. Huntington Beach and other Orange County cities are constantly trouted out by Poole to demonstrate cost-cutting methods which have “saved the taxpayers millions of dollars.” Yet local taxes have skyrocketed recently, such that families have been forced to move from the area, being unable to afford the rising tax burden. These “savings” were not “passed on” to the taxpayer. Such areas need, rather than more of Mr. Poole’s cost cutting, a vocal and organized antitax movement. (This is a void that could be filled by the local Libertarian Party.)

Cut Local Taxes is divided into seven parts. The first six deal with ways to cut costs in five departments, police departments, police departments, police departments, parks and recreation, county government, and utilities and administration. None of these chapters calls for privatization of services. Instead, state grants of monopoly to “private” firms are supposed to be the answer. In fact, in the section on trash collection Poole openly endorses grants of monopoly over free market competition! (If you find this hard to believe, look it up in an old issue of the Wall Street Journal.) Only Dr. Rothbard could冒出 such muddled reasoning. He is also a vocal member of the localist group of Ludwig von Mises. I am sure that he would be surprised to see how Murray Rothbard is depicted by his followers, such as Mr. Poole. At least, add Mr. Poole, “is the most comprehensive treatment of basic economics ever available by recording.”

Probably one of the worst sets of ideas to emanate from a libertarian movement spokesperson in recent years . . . . .
By Carl Shaprio

With a doubt one of the most extra-
clad and controversial figures of the late
eighteenth century was Thomas Paine. Pa-
istrate, statesman, humanitarian, 
and libertarian, Paine's writings in both the
American and French revolutions, Paine's services to liberty and
democracy, however inestimable, were either underemphasized or
largely ignored for almost a century after his death in 1809. The stock answer to that unjust
prejudice against a great and high-
minded soul has always been that Paine's
feeble evasion of organized religion as
"human inventions set up to terrify and
enslave mankind, and to monopolize
power and profit," in his Age of Reason,
turned the Judeo-Christian world against
him. That is a lie for the facts. With (or without) his vilification
Paine's bitterly sarcastic letter in 1793 to Washington (his old friend), damning the
president for disregarding the writer's plight in a French prison.

There were, nevertheless, several scat-
tomists and newspapermen who dared to
extricate Paine. Late in the nineteenth
century the illustrious lawyer, orator, and
critic, Robert G. Ingersoll, said, among many other uplifting accolades, "Thomas Paine, an Infidel, did more for the natural rights of man
who ever lived in it." In 1892, Dr. Moncure D. Conway, a Unitarian
minister, published his sensitive and scholarly two-volume Life of Thomas Paine. Previ-
ously, during Paine's lifetime, there had been much praise of him by famous
American and European figures, most of
which was suppressed until Dr. Conway
enlightened an ungrateful world.

To illuminate Paine's importance to the
establishment of free government, we have
only to briefly survey three of his
most important and effective works.

For example, early in 1776, Paine wrote Common Sense, the
pamphlet that convinced America once
and for all of the necessity of indepen-
dence, and which directly influenced the
drafting of the Declaration of Indepen-
dence. It was one thing to present ration-
el arguments in favor of separation, but
it was yet another to enrich them with
vigor, clarity, and penetrating energy
that could be understood. Common Sense was not the product of a
formally educated political writer, but
the blunt logic of an ingenious, self-
motivated enthusiast. An English-born
commoner—America less than two years—fired the imaginations of thou-
sands with, as Washington put it, "sound
and unanswerable" arguments. It is of
little wonder that independence was
demanded by the Parisians. It read: "The
cause of America is in great measure the
cause of all mankind . . . . Tis not the
concern of a day, a year, or an age; pos-
terity are virtually involved in the con-
test . . . It is the true interest of America
to European contentions, which she never
can do, while, by her dependence on Britain, she is made
the make-weight in the scale of British poli-
tics." Appealing to the hearts and emo-
tions of the worker, the farmer, and
the craftsman who cling to the notion that the
king sympathized with the poorly
lowered, Paine showed that a monarch,
by unnatural rule, had no right "to set
up his own family in perpetual preference
to all others forever." To Paine, "the
exciting of one man so greatly above the
rest, cannot be justified on the equal
rights of nature . . . for monarchy in
every instance is the popery of govern-
ment. . . . We had not a galaxy, but a
crystal: the clarion call to independence. Within
three months about 120,000 copies del-
vered the colonies.

After the wave of independence began,
Paine, with undiminished zeal, volunteered for
soldier duty and subsequently
marched with Washington's demoralized
army on its humiliating retreat through
New Jersey. It was during that harrowing
episode that Paine began the first in a
series of 15 pamphlets known as The
American Crisis, beginning with the oft-
quoted saying, "These are the times that try
men's souls." Inspirational words to be sure,
written for a particular occasion, but,
indeed, prophetic for all seasons. These
vital and stirring exclamations are inva-
able, not only for their passionate appeals
to patriotism, but for their insight, both
journalistically and historically, into the
changing situations from 1776 to 1783.

Aside from the high emotional pitch of his
times, which he could not frenziedly, the
immediate needs of his countrymen, the
deeper meaning of Paine's writings was
the underlying theme of all of his works:
the natural rights of men. The concept
was new—but it was broadened and
systematized by Paine in his monumental
Musings. Written in England in 1791 as a
smashing refutation of Edmund
Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in
France, this important work was the cul-
mation of all of Paine's republican prin-
ciples, and it very nearly caused the entire
European continent to revolt against
monarchy. Burke had degraded the
right of a people to overthrow a tyrani-
cal government, and Paine responded
with what became the handbook of mod-
ern democracy. In essence, Paine based
all his arguments upon the one premise
that the order of mankind is not the
product of government, but the effect
of its natural habits. Therefore, men,
regardless of distinctions of trade or
nationality, are bound by "the mutual
dependence and reciprocal interest which
man has upon man, and all parts of civi-
lized community upon each other . . . .

Formal government makes but a small
part of civilized life; and when even the
best that human wisdom can devise is
established, it is a thing more in name and
idea than in fact." Never unmindful of
the injustices perpetrated . upon the
gentlemen aged, and the poor. Paine
summed it up in one universal challenge:
"When it shall be said in any country in
the world, "My poor are happy; neither
ignorance nor distress is to be found
among them; my jails are empty of pri-
tioners, my streets of beggars; the aged
are not in want, the taxes are not oppres-
sive . . . when these things can be said, then
can that country boast of its consti-
tution and its government."

As a result of Rights, Paine was forced
to flee England, but not without a pri-
vately uttered "compliment" from Prime
Minister. William Pitt: "Tom Paine is
quite right. What am I to do? As things
are, if I were to encourage his opinions
we should have a bloody revolution."

Yet, thousands of copies were circulated,
while publishers and booksellers were
prosecuted—living proof of its stupendous
influence and importance.

In France, to which he fled and was
welcomed as a hero amid shouts of
"Long live Thomas Paine, long live the
rights of man," Paine was elected to the
National Assembly. He helped draft a con-
stitution and penned others rebellious
works. But his humane efforts to save the
life of Louis XVI made Paine a marked
man. He was arrested and imprisoned in
1793. It was in his cell that Paine wrote
his deistical masterpiece, The Age of
Reason.

(After ten months) of gruelling imprison-
ment, Paine was released through the
kind efforts of James Monroe, the new
American minister to France. He eventu-
ally returned to his "much-loved Amer-
ica," where all that awaited him (for the
most part) were epithets and abuse for
writing the mind-liberating Age of
Reason. But Paine did what a genius must
do—and regretted none of it.

To illuminate Paine's importance to the
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THE POLITICAL ECONOMY

The Last Days of the Club
By Chris Welles

Reviewed by Alan Fairgate / Dutton, 1975 / $15

Chris Welles has written an extremely important book tracing the background to the institutional crisis that presently envelops the New York Stock Exchange, and he provides insight in a significant power struggle occurring within the U.S. capital markets. While his study presents a detailed account of these developments, Welles writes well and clearly. Even the layman can find "The Last Days of the Club" without becoming lost in a morass of intricate detail. Welles also provides an extensive and very useful bibliography for those who wish to read further in more specialized sources.

The Last Days of the Club focuses on the gradual disintegration of the New York Stock Exchange, which the author describes as "among the most enduring and successful cartels of the modern commercial world." Beginning in 1792 with the Buttonwood Tree Agreement, the NYSE sought to prohibit competition by fix uniform prices for, perhaps, services to be charged by its member firms to public investors. As Welles himself points out, the ultimate failure of the NYSE is caused by the industry's "classic economic process."...the forces of competition have severely damaged a monopoly cartel that exposed itself to the changing and losing control of its market." While the process is not yet complete, it is clear that a fundamental transformation is presently occurring in the institutional framework of the capital market.

The weakening of the NYSE has occurred on two distinct levels. Welles provides a series of case studies to illustrate the incompetence and distortion in management priorities that emerged among member firms under the protection of the NYSE's fixed-commission rules. In addition to the deterioration in the internal management of the NYSE's member firms, Welles also examines a variety of external developments that contributed to the present crisis. While the popular press and the business magazines have tended to focus on the role of the Securities and Exchange Commission in ordering the termination of the NYSE's fixed commission pricing structure, Welles demonstrates in great detail that the fixed-commission pricing structure had already undergone considerable and irreversible pressure originating among nonmember financial institutions. In effect, the SEC decision served merely to formalize a de facto situation of price competition that had already emerged in the market.

Writers who contend that the SEC's ruling demonstrates the ability of regulatory agencies to pursue policies that conflict with the established rules of the regulatory industry ignore the fact that the SEC ruling at best only served to accelerate a process that had already become irreversible. Furthermore, such a superficial analysis overlooks the possibility that the SEC, in response to underlying shifts in financial power within the capital market, may have shifted its allegiance from the member firms of the NYSE to nonmember financial institutions. This policy shift by the SEC may thus be analogous to the shift that occurred in the Interstate Commerce Commission, which originally served the interests of the railroads and subsequently acted on behalf of the shippers, implementing policies detrimental to the railroads. As Welles himself notes, "This SEC policy, the other side of klaxon the SEC's dominant position within the stock market involved the development of sophisticated computer technology. This new technology considerably reduced the need to trade stocks in a single physical location, a need which had traditionally strengthened the position of the NYSE. When the NYSE proved reluctant to adapt to this new technology, a variety of private entrepreneurs emerged who were more willing to experiment with new trading methods that were more compatible with computer technology. In this way, member institutional firms were quick to perceive the potential of the new technology in providing them with less expensive and more efficient service, and they began to press the NYSE to adopt the technology and to develop links with trading networks currently employing the technology.

The increasing application of computer technology has made possible the emergence of a new central marketplace for the trading of stocks, linked by a national network of electronic communication and computerized data processing equipment. The central issue of the current struggle between the NYSE and other financial institutions involves the question: who will control this new marketplace? Welles notes that the member firms of the NYSE were alarmed by the extent to which the Nixon administration appeared prepared to assist their competitors through various agencies of the executive branch. These episodes contributed to the growing disillusionment of leading members of the Eastern Establishment, and especially by the Wall Street community, with the Nixon administration in the period immediately preceding Watergate.

Part III of Welles' book proves a thought-provoking, although unfortunate, very brief, discussion of the emergence of a broad array of financial institutions that have lead the competitive challenge against the entrenched position of the NYSE. It points out that a process of institutionalization has occurred in which the management of savings has been entrusted to specialized, professional organizations such as mutual funds, life insurance companies, and corporate pension and retirement funds. Perhaps the most important of these professional organizations are the trust department of the major commercial banks, which, by the end of 1973, held nearly $150 billion in personal trust funds and estates.

Welles is highly perceptive in his analysis of the emergence and consolidation of "financial-industrial complexes" as commercial banks launch aggressive efforts through bank holding companies to expand their scope of operations. The commercial banks are now organizing a major lobbying campaign to eliminate such restrictive legislation as the Glass-Steagall Act, which hampers their expansion programs. Welles argues that the commodity futures will ultimately evolve into diversified financial service complexes which, if legislative obstacles are removed, will increasingly encroach upon the traditional preserves of brokerage firms, investment banks, and other financial institutions.

Welles' book also offers some insights into the impact of the business cycle on banks that should be of interest to anyone familiar with Austrian business cycle theory. A growing number of Austro-libertarians have become convinced that the capital markets in understanding the evolution of the existing political-economic system of state capitalism, and that the proper role of government contribution to our understanding of changes presently occurring in the institutional framework of the capital market.

Unfortunately, although Welles professes to be generally sympathetic to the desirability of a competitive market process, his recommendations for reform of the SEC demonstrate the author's consistent failure to appreciate the potential for competitive activity. Hopefully, libertarians will not permit this weakness to serve as an excuse for not reading this very valuable book.

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The Literature of Freethought
By George H. Smith

"By free-thinking," wrote Anthony Collins in 1713, "I mean the use of the understanding in endeavoring to find out the meaning of any proposition whatsoever, in considering the nature of the evidence for or against it, and in judging of it according to the seeming force or weakness of the evidence." Freethought, argued Collins, is opposed to any religion that condemns doubt as sinful, or that demands the acceptance of doctrines on authority or faith.

Freethinkers thus include atheists, agnostics, deists, secularists, rationalists, and others who appeal to reason in order to challenge religious orthodoxy. The literature of freethought is enormous, running into thousands of books and countless pamphlets and periodicals. It is often futile, therefore, to attempt anything near a comprehensive bibliography in one essay. I have focused on eighteenth and nineteenth century freethought, primarily in England, with a final note on "Jesus revisionism." The twentieth century, unfortunately, is left nearly untouched, a victim of space limitations.

A major problem with freethought literature is that it is difficult to find, even in university libraries. Most of the choice items have been out of print for many years, so only the dedicated used-book fanatic stands a chance of obtaining the better works. The "Atheist Viewpoint" reprint series (Arno, 1972) has some good items, but the overall selection is poor. Hence many freethought classics remain buried in obscurity. I am indebted to my friend, Dr. Gordon Stein—an inveterate freethought scholar and bibliophile—for making me aware of the extent of freethought literature. Aside from the historical works I mention, my selections have been somewhat arbitrary: I have simply selected books with which I am personally familiar or which I personally like. If the reader consults the major freethought references, he will be guided through the hundreds of works listed here.

Indispensable for the history of freethought is the work of the great rationalist scholar J. M. Robertson. His History of Freethought, Ancient and Modern, to the Period of the French Revolution (2 vols., Watts, 1929) gives a reliable account of the influence of freethought and secularism. More specifically focused on religious skepticism during the same general period are, George T. Buckley, Atheism in the English Renaissance (1932; Russell and Russell, 1960); Don Cameron Adams, Doubt's Boundless Sea (John Hopkins, 1964); and Richard Popkin, The History of Skepticism from Erasmus to Descartes (rev., Harper and Row, 1968). Allen's book is bulging with information about the many antitheist treaties during a period when there were few, if any, real atheists. Popkin's work is a seminal study of the revival of Pyrrhonism and skepticism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and its effect on theological and philosophical controversies.

One of the most significant precedents to modern freethought was the British deistic movement of the eighteenth century. Some deists sought to "reform" Christianity, while others were openly antagonistic, but they shared belief in a god of "nature," who, after creating the universe, left it to its own devices. Deists were usually hostile to revealed religion, in the form of alleged miracles or sacred scripture, and they became notorious for their attacks on traditional Christian doctrines. A famous but unfairly negative account of British deism is Leslie Stephen, History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century (2 vols., 3rd ed., rev., Watts, 1926). This is a balanced view of deism in its time period, as does A History of Freethought in the Nineteenth Century (2 vols., Watts, 1920). Also valuable is Robertson's A Short History of Christianit- (Watts, 1902).

For those who desire a brief overview of freethought, James Thrower's Short History of Western Atheism (Pemberton, 1971) is informative in some areas but strangely oblivious to the American and British freethought movements. Somewhat better in this regard is J. B. Bury's History of Freedom of Thought (1913; rev. by H. J. Blackman, Oxford, 1952).

There are several good reference works pertaining to freethought, including two biographical dictionaries. J. M. Wheeler's Biographical Dictionary of Freethinkers (Pioneer Press, 1889) is a mine of useful information, as is Joseph McCabe's A Biographical Dictionary of Modern Rationalists (Watts, 1920). Another useful biographical dictionary is the Encyclopædia Britannica (Watts, 1950). The two works by McCabe, however, should be read with caution for errors of dates and details. Many books, although not confined to freethought, deal sympathetically with what may be termed the rationalistic spirit in the development of philosophy, religion, and science. A superb reference of this kind is Harry Elmer Barnes, An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World (3 vols., 3rd ed., rev., Dover, 1952). Though first published in 1965, F. A. Lange's The History of Materialism (one volume trnas., Humanities Press, 1950) may still be profitably consulted. A problem with Lange's treatment, prevalent among many commentators on "materialism," is an intolerably vague conception of what the term "materialism" purportedly signifies.

A. D. White's History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom (2 vols.; 1896; Dover, 1960) is deservedly a classic in its field. Although it has been convicted of some errors of detail—which is almost inevitable in any pathbreaking work—its major theses have withstood the test of time. A precursor to White, though less satisfactory in its overall treatment, is John Draper's History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science (Appleton, 1873). Rejoiners to White and Draper—which delight in pointing out that many great scientists were and are devout Christians—are remarkably adept at missing the point.

A superb study of philosophic thought from the late Middle Ages to the mid-nineteenth century is found in John H. Randall, Jr., The Career of Philosophy (2 vols., Columbia Univ. Press, 1962). Also outstanding is Preserved Smith, History of Modern Culture (2 vols., Henry Holt, 1930, 1934). Both Rand and Smith give sympathetic accounts of the influence of freethought and secularism.

Important preludes to the deistic movement include De Veritate (1624) by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who is often referred to as the "Father of English Deism"; Leviathan (1651), by Thomas Hobbes, who scandalized the intellectual community with his bold attacks on established religious doctrines; and Theological-Political Treatise (1670), by Spinoza, who subjected the Bible to the court of reason with consummate skill.

The writings of the British deists are too numerous to be catalogued here, but we can survey a few of the significant items.

Charles Blount, although he professed loyalty to Christianity, produced three works that laid the foundation for later deistic works. These were Animus Mundi (1679), Great Is Diana of the Ephesians (1680), and Oracles of Reason (1693). Influenced by Hobbes and Spinoza, Blount upheld reason over revelation and launched a critical analysis of the Bible.

Another professed Christian reformer, John Toland, wrote Christianity not Mysterious in 1696, which proved to be one of the most influential deistic books ever written. Building upon Locke's theory of knowledge, Toland sought to remove from Christianity anything that claimed to transcend reason. He received a cold reception from Locke, but this was preferable to the warmer reception of the Irish Parliament, which saw fit to ban the first edition of his work.

Another follower of Locke was Anthony Collins, author of the classic Discourse of Freethinking (1713), which was largely a plea for toleration. Collins also wrote Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion (1724), a pathbreaking analysis of Old Testament prophecies allegedly fulfilled by Jesus. Showing the absurdity of taking the prophecies literally, Collins called for an allegorical interpretation—but in the appeal to allegory, common among deists at the time, it is difficult to separate sincerity from a rue to escape legal penalties for blasphemy.

Then there was Thomas Woolston, called by one critic "poor mad Woolston of the atheists," and charged by another with "scurrilous buffoonery and gross rafferty." This learned Cambridge graduate was thought quite sane until he attacked the reported miracles of the New Testament with uncompromising vigor in a series of six Discourses on the Miracles of Our Savor (1727-29). Woolston, like Collins, sought refuge in allegorical interpretation, but unlike Collins, he signed his name to his books. This led to his conviction on a charge of blasphemy in 1729, for which he was fined and sentenced to one year in prison.

In his charges that Jesus was an impostor and magician, Woolston instigated a ribald, popular form of freethought that influenced such figures as Voltaire. A more passionate form of deism with a more constructive emphasis appeared in Matthew Tindal's Dechristianization. Tindal's classic Deism and Christianity as Old as Creation (1730) often called the Deistic Bible, this work marked the apex of British deism, eliciting over 150 replies. Here were compiled...
The System of Nature is the best and most influential defense of atheism ever written.

Through the writings of Peter Annette, his History and Character of Saint Paul (1750) portrayed Paul as lazy, greedy, weak-minded, and the Resurrection of Jesus Considered (1744) appealed to the unreliable and contradictory nature of the resurrection accounts as a basis for discounting their credibility. "If it not be fit to examine into Truth," declared Annette in a passionate appeal common among freethinkers, "Truth is not fit to be known." Apparently the British government disagreed. For attempting to "diffuse and propagate irreverent and diabolical opinions in the minds of His Majesty's subjects, and to shake the foundations of the Christian religion," Annette, at the advanced age of seventy, was pilloried (with a paper on his forehead inscribed "blasphemy") and sentenced to a year of hard labor in prison.

Annette's slight delight to Annette is his book, Social Bliss Considered: In Marriage and Divorce; Cohabitating Unmarried, and Public Whoring, published under the pseudonym of "Gideon Archer" in 1749. In his call for the legalization of divorce, unmarried cohabitation, and prostitution, Annette seems an eighteenth century version of Walter Block.

Among other important deistic works of the same period, we should mention the following: The True Gospel of Jesus Christ Asserted (1739) by Thomas Chubb; the posthumous Philosophical Works of Lord Bolingbroke (1754); Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers, which are Supposed to Have Subsisted in the Christian Church (1749) by Conyers Middleton; and The Natural History of the World (1722) by William Wollaston (which, incidentally, contains a little-known and superb defense of property rights from a libertarian perspective).

Finally, there was David Hume, the philosophic genius who, although he did not enter the fray of religious controversy to the extent of other deists, contributed the most sophisticated and influential arguments against Christianity and revealed religion—the most famous being his celebrated attack on miracles in An Inquiry Concerning Human Understanding (1748). His other works pertaining to religion were The Natural History of Religion (1757) and Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion (apparently written around 1757 but not published until 1779, after his death). For a good exposition of Hume, see Antony Flew's Hume, see Antony Flew's:

Charles Bradlaugh (1833-1891) was the most important atheist ever produced by Britain. A superb cartoon writer, and organizer, Bradlaugh replaced Holyoake as the militant force in British freethought. He edited the National (4 vols.) and a freethought weekly, and in 1860 he founded the National Secular Society. In 1867 he and Annie Besant were prosecuted for publishing C. Knott's Virtues of Philosophy (a pamphlet on atheism), but Bradlaugh, an excellent lawyer, succeeded in quashing the indictment. (For an account of the trial, see The Queen v. Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant, Freethinking Co., n.d.) Although elected to Parliament in 1880, Bradlaugh's atheism prevented him from being seated until 1886.

One of Bradlaugh's better essays—his magnificent "Plea for Atheism"—are contained in Humanity's Gain From Unbelief (Watts, 1929), and articles by and about Bradlaugh are found in J. P. Gilson, ed. Charles Bradlaugh (Watts, 1933; Arno, 1972). An excellent biography of Bradlaugh is David Tribe's President Charles Bradlaugh, M. F. Archon (1971), which contains an extensive list of his writings. Still useful is the older biography by Bradlaugh's daughter, H.B. Bonner, Charles Bradlaugh: A Record of His Life and Work (with J. M. Robertson, 2 vols., T. Fisher Unwin, 1899).

The giant of American freethought was Robert G. Ingersoll (1833-1899), the "greatest orator," he was immensely successful in popularizing the ideas of free thought. Many different editions of his speeches were published (some of them pirated), but the authorized editions are contained in the "Dresden Edition" of The Works of Robert G. Ingersoll (12 vols., C.P. Farrell, 1900). A meticulous bibliography of works by and about Ingersoll is found in Gordon Stein, Robert G. Ingersoll: A Checklist (Kent State Univ. Press, 1969). The best biography of Ingersoll to date is Orvin Lamar's American Infidel: Robert G. Ingersoll (Citadel Press, 1962).

Although this essay deals primarily with freethought in England and America, it would be border on criminal negligence not to mention the tremendously important contributions of eighteenth century French freethinkers, commonly referred to as philosophers.

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A leading authority on food storage, nutrition and survival, Howard Ruff is the publisher of Ruff Times, a personal survival newsletter. A former stockbroker and investment advisor, he is the author of Farmer and Survival in America.
Smith (Continued from page 13)

One of the most widespread influences on the French Enlighten­
has been questioned due to his many scandalous remarks about Christianity and the Bible. It is widely believed
that Bayle, like other unorthodox thinkers of his time, professed to be more religious than he really was in an
effort to avoid potentially severe legal penalties. This is the general view, for instance, of Howard Robinson’s
Bayle the Skeptic (Columbia Univ. Press, 1931). More recent evaluations have highlighted not Bayle’s con­
formity to Bayle’s fideism (attacking reason to make room for faith), as is demonstrated in Karl C. Sand­

The best known figure of the French Enlightenment was Fran­cois-Marie Arouet, better known as Voltaire. His
writing is extensive and is available in many easily
located editions. A representative selection of his work
is contained in Peter Gay’s edited translation of the
Philo­sophical Dictionary (Basic Books, 1962). Of the
numerous biographies of Voltaire, one of the best
is Theodore Besterman, Voltaire (Harcourt, Brace,

As a deist, Voltaire was at loggerheads with the more
radical atheists of his time, such as Diderot and
d’Holbach. Diderot, known primarily as the editor of the
monumen­tal Encyclopédie (which he worked on
from 1751-65), paid his dues with three years of
imprisonment. Arthur M. Wilson’s Diderot (Oxford,
1972) is a brilliant biography of this amazing and
versatile mind. Of Diderot’s opinions on religi­
one—“The Christian religion teaches us to imitate a
God that is cruel, insidious, jealous, and implacable
in his wrath”—are contained in “Thoughts on Reli­
igion,” an essay reprinted by Richard Callie in 1819.

For an anthology of Diderot’s philosophical writings,
see J. Kemp, ed., Diderot: Interpreter of Nature (Inter­
national Puh., 1972).

Baron d’Holbach, an import from Germany and a
patron of the philosophes, is justly famous for his
System of Nature, published in 1770 under the name of
“Mirabaud” (A French writer who died in 1760)—
a device to conceal and protect the true author.
D’Holbach was probably assisted by Diderot and other
philosophes. The result was a magnificent, if
somewhat prolix, defense of atheism and natural­
ism—the first explicit atheistic treatise of Western civil­
aization (or at least the first one to survive). “Let us
then conclude,” wrote d’Holbach, “that the word God,
not presenting to the mind any true idea, ought to be
banned [from the language of all those who are
willing to speak as to be understood]” (H. D. Robinson,
trans., J. P. Mendum, 1889). This is typical of the
vigorous, uncompromising tone of The System of
Nature which has been and most influential defense
of atheism ever written.

A greatly condensed version of d’Holbach’s master­piece is available under the title Superstition in All Ages
(Peter Eckler, 1889; reprinted many times by various
publishers), which is mistakenly attributed to Jean
Meslier, a priest who declared himself a
heretic posthumously in his
Memoirs (or at least the first one to survive). “Let us
then conclude,” wrote d’Holbach, “that the word God,
not presenting to the mind any true idea, ought to be
banned [from the language of all those who are
willing to speak as to be understood]” (H. D. Robinson,
trans., J. P. Mendum, 1889). This is typical of the
vigorous, uncompromising tone of The System of
Nature which has been and most influential defense
of atheism ever written.

I shall conclude this survey of freethought works with
an important but neglected body of literature that
denies any basis for belief in a historical Jesus, even
the watered-down Jesus of Protestant liberalism. The first
presentation of this argument is by Voltaire, who
reported that he was visited in 1769 by “some disciples
of Bolingbroke, more ingenious than learned,” who
argued that Jesus was a fraud. Voltaire was uncon­
vinced, but the mythicist theory was given shape by
two Frenchmen: Count Volney in Ruins of Empires (1791) and Charles Fran­çois Dupuis in Origins of All
Religions (5 vols., 1795).

Dupuis contended that Christianity is a variation of the
ancient Solar Myth and that Jesus is merely another
guide of ancient mythic deities. “The hero of the
llegends known by the name of gospels,” he
wrote, “is the same hero who has been celebrated with
far more genius in the poems written in honor of Bac­
chus, Osiris, Hercules, Adonis, and others.”

Another staunch defender of the mythicist thesis was
the renegade British clergyman, Robert Taylor. Dur­ing
his first imprisonment for blasphemy, he wrote Syn­
tagma of the Evidences of the Christian Religion
(1828; J. P. Mendum, 1876) and The Diegesis, Being a
Discovery of the Origin, Evidence, and Early History of
Christianity (1829; J. P. Mendum, 1853). Taylor was
a learned and original—if sometimes unreliable—
Scholar. This last is understandable considering the
difficult conditions under which he worked.

Better known than Taylor was German theologian
Bruno Bauer, who, in a series of books appearing after
1840, denied the historical Jesus. Bauer regarded Jesus
as a fictitious character invented by the author of
Mark as an expression of faith. (For an account of
Bauer’s and Dühring’s mythicists during the same
period, see Albert Schweitzer, Life of Jesus, page 143) (4th ed., Watts, 1953) by
P. L. Couchoud; and Ancient History of the God Jesus (Watts, 1938) by Eduard Dujardin.

An excellent overview of the mythicist controversy,
written by a rationalist scholar who believed in
the historical reality of Jesus, is A. Robertson, Jesus: Myth or History, (2nd ed., Watts, 1949). More recently,
an excellent defense of the mythicist thesis is found in
Herbert Cumins’ Jesus: God, Man, or Myth? (Truth
Seeker, 1950). And the mythicist pundit has been
skillfully wielded in the past few years by G. A. Wells
in two books still in print: The Jesus of the Early
Christians (Pemberton, 1971) and Did Jesus Exist? (Eklek, 1975). Both of these detailed works are highly
recom­mended.

—Continued on page 15—
Music in Review

Jazz: The Golden Age
By Neil McCaffrey

PART VI: EXE ARTIE SHAW, AND THE GOLDEN AGE

Artie Shaw and his various orchestras have mostly fallen between two stools. The critics always treated the leader and his bands with reserve. The public certainly liked them all; but, except for one glorious year between fall 1938 and fall 1939, Artie the first place in their fickle hearts.

We needn’t linger over the vantage tastes of either group, except to recall that Shaw was in part responsible himself. He never pandered to anyone. A prickly, voluble, introspective man, he was very much his own way. Nor was that way ever fixed for long. At 24, he abruptly left the lucrative New York radio studios for a Pennsylvania farm. There he tried to write a novel, tore it up after a year (hope deferred: three decades later he published three respectable novels under the title of I Love You, I Hate You, Drop Dead!), and returned to music.

But the restlessness never left him. He had almost been conscripts in his bands. An overview of the latter finds him leading a unique jazz string ensemble from mid-1935 to early 1937; a conventional swing band, 1937-39; two orchestras heavy laden with strings, 1940-42; an all-star Navy swing band, 1943; a civilian swing band, 1944-45; another big band, and string orchestra, 1946; a string orchestra of some 40 pieces that play exclusively classical music, 1948-49; a double album that Bluebird released as a big band around 1951 or 1952; a modern combo, 1953-54.

And then he put down his clarinet, never to play again.

We can moan the–or reflect that he probably gave us, at each period, as much as his restless genius could sustain. Through two productive decades and some dozen bands, he always said something. And it speaks volumes about the thirty:s as the golden age of American music to recall that Shaw’s best band was also his most popular. This may become another underappreciated swing band, 1938-39. It was as if Johnance Garner had overthrown FDR.

If Shaw’s reign was brief (Goodman edged him out in the June, 1939, June Believe Ballroom poll), it was no fluke. That edition of the Shaw band represented the extreme postwar jazz, and popular music. For evidence, consult The Complete Artie Shaw: Volume 1, 1938-1939 (Bluebird, AXM42), a double album that Bluebird plans to be the first of a series that will take us through 1945.

It was a young band. Most of the boys were just this side of (pre-Nixon) voting age. (Jazz, an exuberant art, is best played by young men. When I hear old-timers, I’m usually reminded of Dr. Johnson’s comment on women preaching: even French women, if they’re good enough to get to 29, should be trained, the experience, the polish, above all the vision.

The vision grew out of Shaw’s approach to the clarinet: lyrical, warm, sensuous, legato. It is generally conceded that Shaw’s tone was warmer and richer than Goodman’s—at any rate, than post-1936 Goodman. Some aficionados even hold that Shaw’s improvising dug deeper, harmonically, than Benny’s. Perhaps: I mention this not to be forced to choose but rather to underscore that we are discussing a jazzman of the first magnitude.

The band bore the stamp of the boss. They were superbly drilled. The man and his moments always swing; and, what was much rarer, they always sang as they swung. Shaw had much of the same scoring hand, and, like Glenn Miller, always guided and checked Jerry Gray and the several bandmates who contributed scores.

The band’s work set a standard perhaps never surpassed by a swing band—at least until the first Woody Herman Herd of 1940. The success was justified by the numbers. Only four, they were led by altoist Les Robinson to an awesomely rich sound. The brass were biting yet legato, never harsh. The first rhythm section (Barnes on piano, Sid Weiss on bass, Al Avola on Guitar, Cliff Leeman on drums) worked so well that after Bob Kritsis replaced Burren and Buddy Rich replaced Leeman, it became one of the most galvanizing in jazz history.

When musicians joined this band, they were unknown. When the band broke up, many were stars—or would go on to become stars. Shaw was as good a teacher as a band. He brought to maturity Rich and Leeman; trumpeters Johnny Best and Bernie Privin; tenor star Art Pepper; rhythm section (Sid Weiss, Les Robinson). Barney Auld, this band to an awesomely rich sound. He launched a girl singer of distinction, Helen Forrest. It was not just a matter of standing up front and blowing. Shaw, never a victim of false modesty, once pointed out that one of his principal functions was knowing how, and how much, to control an effervescent crew. Nobody had to spurn men like Auld and Rich. The problem was to overlook all that emerged into lead altoists. And he launched a girl singer of distinction, Helen Forrest. Shaw did—no one else has ever managed to. He was a leader.

The Shaw vision extended to the band’s book. No leader, jazz or dance band, has ever mined the riches of Broadway show music as imaginatively. "Begin the Beguine" was only one of dozens—and far from the most interesting. Of the 34 tunes in this marvelous album, eleven are classic show tunes, another six pop standards. Four are jazz tunes (three of them by Shaw), and 13 are superior pops of the day. The breakout demonstrates Shaw’s aim: to enrich popular music with the tools of his craft.

During his year in the sun, Shaw was all over the airwaves. He had a weekly show sponsored by Old Gold cigarettes. Then he turned up on late-night remotes from New York’s Hotel Lincoln and Hotel Pennsylvania, and from the Palomar Ballroom in Philadelphia. Closing dates yielded a double album of air-checks, Artie Shaw in the Blue Room/In the Café, issued by Columbia in 1961. It is one of print: a minor tragedy, because it captures a great band at its greatest, and may be the best art.

If you find a copy in a rare record shop, hang the expense.

Less satisfying are volumes 1 and 2 (Jazz Guild 1001 and 1003) of Artie Shaw—"Melody and Madness" (the name of his first show for Old Gold). Though not without good moments, they are the sort of albums a fastidious leader would never allow to be issued. Bootlegs, they are.

The Camp of the Saints
By Jean Raspail

Reviewed by Lynne Holdom / Scribner’s, 1975
$8.95

If you don’t read any other book this year, you don’t read The Camp of the Saints. It is probably one of the most important books of the decade, as it asks questions of the basic values we live by.

The book is not being marketed as science fiction, but it could be considered as such, as it takes place about 20 years or so in the future. It is a future in which the entire Third World is a vast slum. Just before total collapse brought on, a million or more of whatever ships are in the harbor and head for Europe and the good life. They anchor just off the French Riviera. (To be honest, this is probably an author is French—any European would probably have them off New York or Miami Beach.)

Now the point is that the French aren’t going to give up either; nobody’s saying but no one is well off. The French can’t absorb or cope with these people without destroying their own society and losing everything they have. How much do they owe these beggars?

There’s a lot of naturalistic writing to show exactly the degradation and squalor in which the beggars live. Even French poverty is a luxury. Though poor, they have possessions. But their suffering is not great. It’s not great, because it captures a great band at its greatest, and may be the best art.

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The Failure of the NRA
By Bernard Bellush

The possibility that there actually were murderersags at millions because of the questionable methods of the Warren Commission, the inconclusiveness of ballots tests, a botched autopsy. Anson, a political reporter for News Times, interprets the evidence, including recently available new material, as pointing to an assassination conspiracy; at the same time, however, he's too, responsible to categorically make accusations. Anson suspects the existence of three "Owals" that a "planted" lived in the Soviet Union and married Marina, that Marina herself may be an agent. He calls attention to the problematical coincidences that surrounded the assassination; he examines the factions he seems as having motives: organized crime, Cuban exiles, the CIA. Yet proof of anything remains elusive. Anson's book, as readable and concerned as it is, is peppered up of intriguing parts that don't credibly add up. . . -Publishers Weekly / Contemporary History / Bantam, 1975 / $2.50 pb.

How to Protect Yourself from Crime
By Ira L. Lipman

"Lipman's book contains nothing dramatic or surprising about security, but if you adhere to its common sense checklist, you'll make it much more difficult for a would-be thief or kidnapper to score on you, your business, or your family." -Business Week / Survival / Athenium, 1975 / $9.95

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The Rockefeller: An American Dynasty
By Peter Collier and David Horowitz

"While they were accumulating more than 200 hours of interviews with the 'Cousins' (the fourth-generation Rockefellers) the authors were able to penetrate the barriers of the 'brain trust in Room 5060' in the RCA Building and were given a limited access to the Rockefeller Family Archives. And when a family PR man asked if their book was going to be favorable or unfavorable, they replied that they 'planned simply to draw a realistic and full-blooded portrait of a realistic family.' This is what they have done in this carefully annotated, thoroughgoing, balanced and readable family history." -Publishers Weekly / Biography-History / Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976 / $15

Powers of Mind
By Adam Smith

"While still a Wall Street fund manager, Adam Smith (who wrote The Money Game and Supermoney) began to read about mind-body control, the feats of yogis, legends from religion, and started to look into meditation practices. He investigated almost everything from LSD to biofeedback to Eastern religions. He talked to Baba Ram Das, John Lilly, and other gurus, swamis, mystics, adepts and practitioners of many faiths and beliefs— including experts in the fields of medicine, physics, and neurosciences. And when courses in India and Transcendental Meditation, he observed fads and movements. And it is all carefully and honestly reported, his doubts and disbeliefs, the frauds, the fads, but also the authentic phenomena, his own altered-state experiences, and the changes in his life, a truly enlightening book is happening in this new world of subjective awareness and this is an excellent, well-documented survey of it all. Highly recommended."-George Adelman in Library Journal / Psychology / Random, 1975 / $8.95

Astride Two Cultures:
Arthur Koestler at 70
Edited by Harold Harris

"The title of this celebration of Koestler's life and work on the occasion of his 70th birthday refers logically enough to the fact that although he is most widely known for the first of a superb novel, Darkness at Noon, Koestler is also a most effective contributor to scientific discussion of the disturbances between brain, mind and consciousness. A liberating sense that man is more than an automatic system of reflexes emerges from the book. The 14 contributors discuss Koestler's other fiction, "The Sleepwalkers," and his history of science, the always fascinating story of his life and his preoccupation with the paranormal. A lengthy "overview" by Roy Webber must be one of the best things on Koestler available and is a tour de force of popular exposition; Kathleen Nott on "Koestler and the Behaviourists" is another prize. . . " -Publishers Weekly / Intellectual Biography / Random House, 1976 / $10

Janurary/February 1977

Briefly in Review
Sentience
By Wallace I. Matson

Reviewed by Tibor R. Machan / University of California Press, 1975 / $7.95

This marvelous, fresh, typically argued and brighty composed book carries a quote from Gilbert Ryle on its cover in order to prepare the reader for it: Theme;
Man need not be degraded to a machine by being denied to be a ghost in a machine. He might, after all, be a sort of animal, namely, a higher mammal. There has yet to be ventured the hazardous leap to the hypothesis that perhaps he is a man.

Once the faddishly sensitive among us get over the "sexist" overtones of this passage—having remembered what the words mean in the English language—the recommendation contained in Ryle's statement will surely seem worth a try. It is to the credit of Professor Matson that he embarks on proving the hypothesis with no apology to the mystics among us. Instead Matson sets out to show what after all should appear to us an eminently sensible notion about what we are, namely, material entities in material reality. Matson addresses himself to what should interest any thoughtful person: the question of what kind of entity a human being is.

A way of approaching this problem that has gained prominence in intellectual history involves a consideration of the idea that sensations are brain processes. On a common sense level the idea seems reasonable enough—a feeling one has, say, of the saliency of the soup at tonight's dinner, just could not exist without something going on in our body, very likely in that part of it where the sensory organs come together, namely in the brain. Yet this is a revolutionary idea to some, especially the tender-hearted who have visions that granting such a crank conception of even the simplest of human feelings must give way to an avalanche of reductionism. What next? Well, for one, our emotions may have to be construed as "mere" processes in our brains. And our thoughts, memories, fantasies, dreams, reasoning, very life itself, may then have to be construed as nothing more than epiphenomena of the brains we have in our bodies. Where is the glory in all this, where are we to put our ennobling conceptions about man's special place in nature?

And, of course, where would be spirit, soul—and to verge on the blasphemous—where would it leave our supposed divine spark? Now that I have suggested where the simple notion that sensations are brain processes might lead us, I will simply add that the story is far more interesting than what my suggestion makes it appear.

But I will not spoil the story. Once in a while a book should be recommended, not reviewed at all, just as with certain mystery novels. I confine myself, therefore, to this, instead of embarking on what I will do elsewhere, namely a philosophical confrontation with Professor Matson on the topic of sentience. What will suffice for now is to offer a testimony.

Matson, a philosopher who not only knows a great deal of the history of philosophy but has produced some of the best thinking on philosophical topics in his previous articles and books—among them The Existence of God and Human Knowledge—is a superb prose writer. He is also a completely committed rationalist in the sense that he does not expect his readers to take him on faith about anything. (So where he must limit his exposition, he acknowledges that his position requires additional treatment.) His arguments are always fair, although he does not shy away from calling silliness just what it is, silliness. Now if this will not entice you to embark on a fascinating yet relatively brief intellectual adventure, maybe you will find more intriguing that Matson handles such topics as the nature of private experiences, artificial intelligence, the mind/body relationship, freedom of the will, and the nature of values—all in a crisp and often challenging manner.

Again, I do not wish to give anything away, for this book is somewhat of a mystery tour. What does Matson's materialism consist of? Is it a nature of thought? Can machines think? Are we free? Are moral judgments meaningless?

Find out for yourself. I promise you a delightful and challenging journey.
Healer
By F. Paul Wilson

Reviewed by Richard E. Geis / Doubleday, 1976 / $5.95

Healer by F. Paul Wilson is what is kind of called an interesting failure. It uses old, reliable science fiction elements: a man made virtually immortal by an alien hack who merges with his body and keeps him in top condition and even constructs/grows back-up organs, an immensely powerful insane alien psi menace from far across the galaxy, the intrusion of the State into private freedoms to the point of slavery (by another name) of the individual, advanced psi powers in the hero/aliens gestalt, spacewart for instant travel and communication of man kind into a large segment of the galaxy, a Federation of planets. Uses these elements unthinkingly, as a painted backdrop, with very little thought given to making them hang together.

Steven Dalt is the immortal. Note the name similarity to John Galt, hero of Ayn Rand's Atlas Shrugged. Dalt, having been immortal for a few centuries, finds it necessary to establish yet another identity on another planet to mask his unending life. It is an era when the once mighty Federation of human colonized planets is moribund and the collectivist mentality is growing stronger (again, another cycle) and beginning to gain power and influence over the scattered culturally and economically diverse human systems. Dalt takes a computer job on the ill-quoted libertarian planet Tolive, with the private enterprise Interstellar Medical Corps. Here F. Paul Wilson uses his hero shamelessly, making him a wide-eyed, knee-jerk liberal fool in order to show-and-tell some of the Tolive libertarian libertarian life. Dalt is a man who has lived for centuries on a succession of different planets, doing a variety of jobs in a mixture of cultures and social levels—who it stunned that on Tolive there are no illegal books or drugs, who is appalled at carefully supervised public floggings, and who has apparently never outgrown his puritanical childhood.

This is sloppy, lazy writing. More: the conflict between Dalt and his alien partner (named Pard) is too cute for comfort, and what is worse, this juvenile level of conversation remains unchanged over the centuries—awkward, simplistic, embarrassing.

On Tolive, Dalt learns he has exceptional psi powers (courtesy of Pard, modestly) and finds that he can heal by delving into minds—especially those of the victims of the horrors, an inexplicable, suddenly occurring fugue of fear and hallucinations that strikes people at random throughout mankind's area of the galaxy. The horrors are spreading, and Dalt becomes quickly known and revered as the Healer. He is a legend. But, inevitably, after a time, the Healer must disappear. Dalt surfaces on a remote planet as an immensely rich recluse.

But then begins brief, savage raids on human popu lated planets by space-suited humanoid who use an advanced spacewar portal. The raids become more frequent, more devastating...

And once again a single, superior man saves all mankind from extinction, and in this case also saves an alien race from its fate-worse-than-death. This is a knee-jerk play on the old, reliable idea that, with unending repetition and variation, drives away the average reader of science fiction after a few years.

The brief glimpse of Tolive is tantalising and seems brutally edited. There is mention of a Contract with the planet (not with the government) required of all Tolive citizens, but nothing more is explained or shown. I suspect too much libertarianism would have (maybe did) strike the editors at Doubleday as "propaganda" and special pleading, out of place and out of proportion in the novel.

There is a quote on page 79 from Daniel Webster: "In every generation there are those who want to rule well—but they cannot rule. They promise to be good masters—but their masters will be masters." I like that. It reminds me of The Smiler who is now our president.

To sum up: Healer is a rather bad, routine science fiction novel with a small, fascinating taste of libertarian life.

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Branden, Nathaniel, Ph.D.

HOW TO COMMUNICATE POLITICAL IDEAS

The noted psychologist and therapist addressed the 7th Libertarian Party Convention on the techniques of political persuasion. Dr. Branden, in the course of addressing individuals to question their own motives for engaging in political conversion, and advised that they understand their case. Using anecdotes drawn from his own private and professional experiences, he described the problems one faces in grasping with one's hands the slippery stones by which one might attempt to persuade others in a constructive manner. A series of interesting point-counterpoint examples on other levels also. His speech was followed by an informative question and answer session.

Tape #123 (55 min.) $9.95

Sheenfield, Arthur, Ph.D.

CONSUMERISM: A REPLY TO NADER AND HIS RAIDERS

On this tape, Dr. Arthur Sheenfield, a distinguished British economist, takes on Ralph Nader and his supporters in a brilliant, no-holds-barred assault. He not only answers the familiar complaints of the consumer protection movement, he also provides an eloquent defense of the free-market system. Dr. Sheenfield is a former president of the Mont Pelerin Society, an international federation of free market economists and political scientists. He has had numerous presses in the British government and has been an economic advisor to several developing countries.

Tape #120 (116 min.) $12.50

Branden, Nathaniel, Ph.D.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: THERE'S A WORLD OUT THERE

In this penetrating critique of the Human Potential Movement, psychologist Nathaniel Branden contends that the movement's exclusive preoccupation with man's inner life creates the danger of failing to recognize the existence of an outside world. Dr. Branden's view of the Human Potential Movement is fundamentally positive, however, and he offers a constructive alternative to the "galluping subjectivism." He sees it as dangerously endemic to every generation there are those who want to rule well—but they cannot rule. They promise to be good masters—but their masters will be masters." I like that. It reminds me of The Smiler who is now our president.

To sum up: Healer is a rather bad, routine science fiction novel with a small, fascinating taste of libertarian life.

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Wollstein, Jarre't

THE MYTH OF MONOPOLY POWER

Wollstein examines the history and economies of monopoly power in the U.S. He demonstrates with historical examples that economic concentration existed only when firms were efficient, innovative, and charged lower prices than their competitors. He also explains why the concept of a monopoly price is a myth, and why the monopolist has only the same power as any other businessperson. Wollstein concludes that breaking up large firms in the free market destroys economic freedom and harms consumers. An informative cassette on a widely debated issue.

Tape #264 (32 min.) $9.95

Lachman, Ludwig M.

HIDDEN ASPECTS OF TODAY'S INFLATION

Dr. Lachman discusses inflation's psychological dimension. Its distributional effects, its geographical aspects, and its relation to capital excess. A questions-and-answer period followed his presentation at an American Geographical Society conference. Ludwig Lachmann is a visiting professor of economics at New York University.

Tape #461 (34 min.) $9.95

Liggo, Leonard

AMERICAN CORPORATE STATE'S FOREIGN POLICY

In a speech at the conference on "Who Rules America?" Liggio asserts that the commodity of petroleum has had more effect on the shaping of U.S. foreign policy than any other single factor in this century. He traces "oil diplomats" from its origin to the present day.

Tape #424 (46 min.) $9.95

Smith, Jerome

SMITH INTERVIEWED BY CHARLES CURLEY

Jerome Smith, an economic writer who once employed Harry Brownre, discusses the prospects for gold and silver. Smith places his prediction into a larger framework, which includes analyses of government policies and their effects, the monetary and fiscal situation, and the consequences of "future shock." New York-area listeners will be particularly intrigued by the fact that Smith's predictions on this tape regarding New York's fiscal crisis (recorded in November, 1975) have already come true almost word-for-word. Smith led the way into silver in the late 1960s, and remains bullish on the metal. He tells why he expects silver to rise to $20-an-ounce levels.

Tape #413 (85 min.) $10.95

Bock, Alan, Karl Hess, E. Scott Royce, Peter Brueggge, Charles Morgan, and Murray Rothbard

THE "STATE" OF OUR UNION?

An alternative "State of the Union" event was sponsored by libertarians to announce the formation of the Libertarian Advocate. The director, Alan Bock, explained the purpose of this new special interest lobby in Washington: lobbying for freedom. Karl Hess contributed with a witty commentary on the current "State of the Union." Royce provided a review of U.S. foreign policy; Peter Brueggge discussed the use of psychiatric treatment as a tool of oppression; Charles Morgan (formerly with the ACLU) described the growing dangers of governmental overreach and presidential secrecy; and Murray Rothbard offered a reply to President Ford's State of the Union Address. An event with a serious theme, but a good humor.

Tape #420 (107 min.) $12.50

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AP-044

January/February 1977

19
As a movement, libertarianism has a long way to go before it reaches maturity. There have, however, been some significant advances made during this past year and I would like to use the space in this month’s column to take stock of where we are and where we are going.

As I’ve said elsewhere, I have never been much of a Libertarian Party fan—that is until the most recent campaigns. The MacBride campaign and all the state and local campaigns that went along with it were successful beyond my wildest imagination. I’m not thinking in terms of the success in getting libertarianism known to literally millions of people who heretofore had not even heard of a consistent libertarian point of view. I think that MacBride’s tripartite theme of libertarianism in civil liberties, economic, and foreign policy was a stroke of genius, although I wish he had been even firmer in the area of foreign policy.

We need much more of this kind of broad-based approach. Our enemies are replete with individuals who is the tip of the right-wing statism’s iceberg. “Responsibility,” of course, would have to be defined by the state, that is, by people in power. [See “Gun Control” and “The Free Citizen,” I.R., September 1968.]

Historically, there are many abominable examples of what happens when the people in power decide who are the “irresponsible” and who aren’t. Women were considered to be irresponsible until a century or so ago. Black men were considered to be irresponsible until a paltry fifty years ago. Blacks were deliberately disenfranchised after the Civil War as a matter of course, not by means of economic criteria and literacy tests—to say objective tests that Mr. MacBride and I hold dear. The implications here are antilibertarian in so fundamental a way that I am amazed that I even need to discuss them in a libertarian publication. The state is the legalized use of force. To deprive people of citizenship is to leave them without a voice in the affairs of the state. Now, people who are unrepresented in government will do a nasty habit of being oppressed and exploited by that very institution. Thus, to deprive people—especially those not of the powers of citizenship is to deprive them of the right of self-defense in a way more basic than any physical deprivation itself.

It is predictable that Bretnor would berate the ACLU for trying to protect the rights of the accursed. But his attempt to dig up a libertarian-sounding issue and then attack the ACLU on that score reveals—the memory of cens and com-

miserate, self-righteousness, and succour, summary and subjection, po-

arms, summary and subjection, and arbitrary judgments without appeal. And indeed it does—let us hope we forget these things! Surely even Bretnor knows that they have happened right here in the United States. And the only reason we don’t have arbitrary judgment and summary seizures more often than we do is because the adversary concept of the relation between government and its citizen has led to procedural safeguards for the accused.

But it is the right wingers who seek a selective freedom (for themselves), Bretnor depicts himself by contradiction. He starts out with the correct assumption that government is an instrumentality to which people delegate certain powers that are already there. And in the next paragraph, he contradicts this. “Full citizenship was not,” he says, “something of which anybody could be deprived or get in line for a handout,” thus implying that citizenship is a kind of handout, or “grant” of powers. He speaks of “qualifying” for the right to vote, as if the framers were a special power above and beyond what all individuals possess already. He speaks of “granting” of citizenship being given to “millions of irresponsible.” Thus, in the last analysis, it is Bretnor, not just the “left-leaning liberals,” who believes that the “powers we once delegated to government now belong to it and not to us,” to use his own words.

Liberals tell us that only policemen can be trusted with guns; Bretnor tells us that only good, solid, upper-class citizens can be trusted with the vote. What’s the difference?

Our commitment to individual rights may ally us with people like Bretnor on one particular issue. That does, of course, mean that we have to accept or help spread the reactionary and antibalitarian views associ-

ated with him. Indeed, it is likely Bretnor have been considered advocate-

nars of freedom is probably the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why the heart of the major reason why

m" when to which it does not correspond. As a profession, we can, of course, define" libertarianism" to be a mindless advisory of anarchy, it is pointless for me to attempt any further explication of this or that.

REGINALD BRETNOR
Medford, Or.

"Major Misunderstanding"

Bill McIlhany’s review (September/October) of my book, Concerning a Very Old Question was generous, for which I am thankful. He is, however, as I think most major misinterpretations, most of which I do not think I can take the space to correct. One, however, goes too far.

McIlhany implies that I accept “today’s parlance jargon of ‘one’s debt to society’ which I would rather be subterfuge to be uncivilized vengeance.” Actually, I am in favor of retititution and explain (in a section titled “Retribution and Vengeance” that retri-

bution has nothing to do with vengeance, but instead with hope keeping and that the motive of vengeance, whether or not present, has no logical connection with the intention of retribution. (A and B may have different motives for the same act."

It seems to me clear that the justification for threats is utilization, for punishments retribu-

tive they must be. Further, the first chapter contains a sec-

tion (“A Debt Owed by or to Society?”) in which we reject the theory that the crim-

inal owes a debt to society. I also only disburse with offenders to injured individuals, in which I reject the theory of "Restitution.”

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ERNEST VAN DEN HAA\n
New York, N.Y.

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ERNEST VAN DEN HAA\n
New York, N.Y.

McIlhany Replics
Law: Where Will the Anarchists Keep the Madmen? by John D. Sneed. The first issue of the JLS will be out in February.

The Center's newsletter, In Pursuit of Liberty, is a publication devoted to movement academic and news and happens to be a regular feature of the libertarian movement. The newsletter is a regular feature of the Center's newsletter.

The Center holds an annual Libertarian Scholar's Conference, which brings together some of the very best young libertarian intellectuals. The Center now will be held in San Francisco. It will also be held in the Fall of 1977 in New York City.


Cato Institute is a public policy research and information distribution institute. Cato was formerly the Charles Koch Foundation, based in Wichita, Kansas. It will continue to maintain offices in Wichita, but it also maintains an office in New York, which it will share with the Center for Libertarian Studies. Edward H. Crane III, past chairman of the Party of Cato's president and executive director. Cato will continue to hold the conference, seminars, and publications, and it will begin a Cato Fellows program.

Cato's key contribution in the past has been its understanding of the libertarian perspective is impossible to overestimate.

Cato will work closely with the Center for Libertarian Studies. Their combined and complementary output has been a radical departure from the Center's conventional wisdom that the Center for Libertarian Studies is the center of the libertarian movement. The Center for Libertarian Studies is a liberal center, and the Center for Policy Studies is a conservative center. Their combined and complementary output will rival-if not in quantity at least in quality-the Brookings Institution in the liberal center, and the Center for Policy Studies in the conservative center. Their combined and complementary output will rival-if not in quantity at least in quality-the Brookings Institution in the liberal center, and the Center for Policy Studies in the conservative center.

Building a movement is a long and many-layered process. It is not enough to be successful. It is also necessary to be visible. The Center for Policy Studies will not be able to build a visible movement that is not founded on a firm ideological foundation. The emergence of the Center and Cato takes us a long way toward building that foundation.

Two Steps Backward

With the publication of Adam Reed's review of five "Holocaust" books in the December issue, LJR has undergone a transformation in the better understanding of alleged war-time atrocities. I am not trying to minimize the horror of the Nazi concentration camps, but it is important to remember that the excuse which brought the charge of deliberate murder of Jews on the part of Hitler & his followers was the wave of public opinion. A recent edition of Polish Acts of Atrocity Against the German Minority in Poland, 1939-1945, published in 1976, includes a large number of photographs of Germans said to have been killed in the Holocaust. They were killed because they were German. The photographs are not evidence of mass killings of Jews at those camps. Following the war he devotes a large part of his book to the evidence of man killings of Jews at those camps. Following the war he devotes a large part of his book to the evidence of man killings of Jews at those camps. Following the war he devotes a large part of his book to the evidence of man killings of Jews at those camps. Following the war he devotes a large part of his book to the evidence of man killings of Jews at those camps. Following the war he devotes a large part of his book to the evidence of man killings of Jews at those camps.

LJR would be wise to use its readers as a service if it had included a review of some of the Holocaust literature. For example, Martin Gilbert has examined the Six Million Claim in the light of new evidence and with the application of logical analysis. For example, a member of the French Resistance who spent the last three years of the war as an inmate of Buchenwald concentration camp, Paul Claudel-Martin, has presented evidence of mass killings of Jews at those camps. Following the war he devotes a large part of his book to the evidence of man killings of Jews at those camps. Following the war he devotes a large part of his book to the evidence of man killings of Jews at those camps. Following the war he devotes a large part of his book to the evidence of man killings of Jews at those camps. Following the war he devotes a large part of his book to the evidence of man killings of Jews at those camps. Following the war he devotes a large part of his book to the evidence of man killings of Jews at those camps.

In sum, the review published by LJR would have done credit to William L. Hamilton if he had had the resources to verify the extermination question is the work of a Northwestern University professor of philosophy, Dr. A.R. Butts, and published in the Lincoln Hoax of the Twentieth Century (Historical Review Press, 23 Eelker Gardens, Richmond, Va. 22205). The book shows what really happened in the concentration camps and how the genocide legend got started. LJR's careful research examines the books reviewed by Reed and demonstrates why they are suspect.

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**An Afterword.** (Continued from page 21)

I must confess I am pleased with his work and finding them in letters to one friend who I know, reads with attention.

Because I am no longer young, I lack a younger one on which to lean, or my personal resilience. I cannot believe that the Libertarian Party is a force in this be porous keeled country of ours. I wish it would.

The platform on which Roger MacBride is running is impossible (what he stands for). On which platform should be. (Is sent out a copy of Theatre is a preference, but the most conservative, and to another who is liberal— and they were both impressed!)

As I said, do keep it up! Libertarians are truly voices crying in the wilderness—but they can be insistent voices, and disturbing.

**mA. David Hamblen, III**

Newton, Mass.

**And on the other Hand.**

I feel your magazine leaves much to be desired. Let me explain. I have seen his book, On Fit Stomach, and have read his book, A New Dawn for America. I have spoken briefly with Bob Murray and Larry Crane. These gentlemen strike me as being intelligent and reasonable, and I could find a number of other people, whose ideas I would be interested in, but also with whom I would be interested.

I do not consider the tone of your magazine to be intelligent and reasonable, however. Most of your contributors are being paranoiac, who are more concerned with spreading the word that we are all being persecuted by the government than with discussing ways in which we can all improve our lifestyle and contentment regardless of the state of the country.

**LIBERTARIAN REVIEW**

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